

reader will mark that it is 'affliction' in Virginia to show any refinement of feeling. The same standard, we believe, prevails in New Zealand, and any citizen of that island who should object on principle to the torture of prisoners, would unquestionably be considered ridiculously finical. All Southern men objecting to the assassination of Mr. Sumner, are declared by the *Enquirer* to be 'conscience-stricken saints.' Hence it is clear that to have a conscience, or to be a saint, is, at the very least, high treason in the Old Dominion. 'Our approbation,' says the *Enquirer*, 'of the conduct of Brooks, is entire and unreserved. We consider the act good in conception, better in execution, and best of all in consequence. These vulgar Abolitionists in the Senate are getting above themselves. They have grown saucy, and dare to be impudent to gentleness.' Let us see what language this 'gentleman' employs to prove his gentility. 'They (the Senators abroad) are a low, mean, scurvy set, with some little book learning, but as utterly devoid of spirit or honor as a pack of curs.' Observe the lordly, contemptuous way in which this 'gentleman' speaks of his 'low, mean, scurvy set,' and of his 'little book learning,' and especially, we suppose, with ardent spirits, or the honors in a pack of cards. Here we have the antipathy to the alphabet, always shown by the savage. He likes to fight and to fish, but he has, in common with the Virginia 'gentleman,' a great contempt for 'book learning.' 'The truth is,' continues the *Enquirer*, 'the Senators have been suffered to run too long without collars.' This is just the remark which the Algerine 'gentlemen' were in the habit of making when they captured a crew of Christian voyagers. 'They must be lashed into submission.' Here we have the Algerine again. 'Sumner, in particular, ought to have nine and thirty lashes.' He is a great strong, healthy fellow, and could stand the cowhide beautifully. Here we have the Algerine, with a touch of Virginia refinement, shown in nice knowledge of the physical power required 'to stand the cowhide.' This Virginia 'gentleman' has undoubtedly in his day flogged a nigger or two to death, and kept over the catastrophe. 'There is,' adds the *Enquirer*, 'the blackguard Wilson, an ignorant Natick cobbler, swaggering in excess of muscle, and absolutely dying for a beating.' Mr. Wilson's 'excess of muscle' seems to have made a remarkable impression upon the South, and its champions appear to be kindly willing to leave our Senator to his fate. 'Will anybody take him in hand?' cries the *Enquirer*; 'but nobody is inclined to respond.' 'Hale,' says this 'gentlemanly' paper, 'is another huge, red-faced, sweating scoundrel, whom some gentlemen should kick and cuff.' Why this antipathy to 'red'! Southern 'gentlemen' have no objection to yellow. But we remember, Red, of all colors in the prison, is especially odious to turkey-cocks.

But we need not go on with our extracts. It is enough to say, that the *Enquirer*, as becomes the organ of a semi-civilized race, proposes to introduce violence as the law of the Senate, and of society; as the rule, and not as the exception, and to have, 'a caning or a cowhiding every day.' See how the tameless instincts of the unsophisticated savage develop themselves! Boys, kept upon short commons, would like pudding 'every day'; the monarch of the Cannibal Islands would like a fresh man 'every day'; the North American Indian would have been supremely happy, if he could have secured a red-skinned 'every day'; and 'Mow,' in the play, wanders about listless and sad, fearful of 'spilling,' and pining for a fight. So it is with the *Enquirer*. Its only pleasure is 'caning'; its only pastime 'cowhiding'; a 'free fight' every day would (in its estimation) make Washington 'a little heaven below.' We are not that this primitive, aboriginal gentleman cannot be gratified 'every day.' He must learn self-control, and be content with a monthly assault, or an annual murder. And as amusements of a high order are always easily, he must expect to pay a pretty round price for the indulgence. Flogging Northern men will hereafter be an expensive luxury in Washington.

From the New York Independent.

SILENCE MUST BE NATIONALIZED.

LIBERTY of speech in a despotic government means the liberty of the despot to say what he pleases, and the liberty of everybody else to hold their tongues. This is the idea in the South now. They are willing that the North should say Amen, after their rhetoric. That is the whole liberty permitted. No man can dare say one word in the South, in court, in legislation, in the field, in the church, or anywhere else—no man dare say one sharp, clear, effective word against slavery, or slave-policy. Anything may be said in its favor. No man's strength or name is enough to make it safe for him to make an issue with the tyrannical policy of the three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders of the South. If a clergyman should breathe the slightest opinion that slavery is wrong, his place would be untenable. Should a professor in any college be suspected of association in any way with friends or doctrines of liberty, he is assigned at once, and made either a resident in the most abject manner, or to emigrate. Whatever men think, it is not safe for any man in the South to express, in the most guarded and frigid manner, anti-slavery sentiments. Nay, every day the lines are drawing. It is not permitted that men be neutral. They are obliged to take sides. They must come out and show their hands. Liberty is not in Paris, to-day, nor in Rome, nor in Vienna, a censorship more rigid, a police more ubiquitous and searching, to repress or punish free speech, than exists in Richmond or Charleston.

It could not be otherwise. A government of mere Power cannot allow Intelligence. Thinking and speaking are fatal to despotism. The sunshine is to be frost and ice. Power demands silence. All predatory beasts are organized for stealth, for silence. The cat, the tiger, the lion, are all velvet-footed. They are not dangerous when they are noisy. They are most to be dreaded when they are dumb. On the plantation, this doctrine is duty. The lash is the antithesis of the tongue. No matter how falsely charged, nor how cruelly wronged, the slave must not answer back. Civil society takes up the principle, and laws and courts will not listen to a slave in his own person. He has no tongue, no voice; he is a dumb creature. He is a creature, like all other human beings, endowed with reason, moral sentiments, affections, and passions. He fears, he enjoys, he laughs and cries, he hopes or fears. But there is no civil liberty to give voice to one's feeling. The sorrows of slaves have brooded and silently gathered above their huts and huts, until, to the terror of God, and the grief of heaven and earth is as a vast and cloud-bellied organ, piped and voiced with sorrows; and no man is found that dare press the keys, and utter that august symphony of suppressed grief, which, if it should be sounded, would fill the world with amazement, as if the woe of the damned had taken wing, and were flying in the air over the continent.

The whole South is smothered. The slave is dumb. The free colored man is dumb. The poor white man is dumb. The merchant and lawyer are dumb. The minister is dumb, and the politician dumb. Dumb, we mean, for truth, for liberty, for anything except the defense of slavery. But, Northern habits are extremely vexatious to this state of things. Washington is in the midst of slavery. Western and Northern men bring to Congress their free tongues. They annoy and vex the submissive silence of the South. For a long time, there prevailed a tacit understanding that there should be nothing said in Congress, about slavery, and that most seeming and urbane of all demagogues, compromise, enigmatised silence—unless, of course, some Northern scholar, ambitious of preferment, asked leave to take his musket and fight for slavery in Southern ranks.

As long ago as 1836, under the famous agitation about Petition, the South took imperious attitudes, and squarely denied the right of the North to say one word about the part of our national policy which is the most vital, viz., real liberty. Freedom of speech was resolutely denied, and it was declared that it must be put down.

If fifteen States should resolve that the sun should not shine, and the clouds should not clear, any more rain, their success would be fully as great as has been the endeavor to nationalize silence. The more it was suppressed, the more discussion grew. Mobs, caucuses, conventions, parties, platforms, great men, and the government itself, have all tried to put down free speech, which yet walks the earth, or flies the air free as winds, and as mighty too, when it shall ere long gather its forces,

and come as the breath of the Lord, and the voice of a People.

In 1855, however, the question was settled by dodging; as all questions of principle in American politics have been settled for the last thirty years. The most vicious element that ever entered American affairs was the once so much admired policy of compromise. Compromise is nothing but a method of dodging a real principle, instead of settling it by fair and full discussion and action. It leads to a habit of shuffling cowardice. It destroys that open, honest, manly spirit that grapples with difficulties in a fair conflict; and breeds instead a miserable, mousing, intriguing, manœuvring policy, of seeming to do what you do not, of using Nation and honor as a cover of compromise and peace, they violated compact, compromise, and national peace. They broke over the line made sacred by a Nation's word. They crept to the cradle of a young State, as the mythical serpents glided to the cradle of Hercules, to strangle him before his strength came upon him.

Their first attack was to silence men. A legislature was made up of all destructive materials, and thrown over from Missouri, as engineers throw bombs from huge-moated mortars, and it was its supreme errand to silence discussion. The imported Legislature of Kansas makes free speech, and a free press, a capital offense, and the President of the United States endorsed the deed. Let men consider! The President of these United States and the Government of this Republic are deliberately committed to a long-formed, deeply-laid plan, of destroying free speech in this Republic, and making silence National!

At this point, some may say, in the good providence of God, the South will not do this. Those whose hearts were not republicans, and whose tongues were not like dead men lying in them. Seward, Wade, Chase, Trumbull, Wilson and Sumner spoke, and in substance and manner that became men standing in the temple of liberty, and in the home of liberty, denouncing that freedom of God, the seed and fruit of free institutions. Of this heroic band, there was one whose gentle nature, whom retiring habits and scholarly fastidiousness made it safer to attack than others. It happened, too, that he was second to none in the freedom of his speech. His tongue moved to the impulses of a heart as true to liberty as the heart of Washington. But it was not until he was almost as he walked to and fro in the street. The South needed a man who dared to strike from behind; who had the coward's knock—the real assassin's trick. Plantations are schools that turn out enough of such soldiers of infamy. One was found. He set himself in watch. Not when he is his head, not when he walked the street, not when his feet were free, nor his hands free, would he venture. But, at length, spying him with his feet in stocks, his head bent low to his manuscript, his hands busy with his pen, he struck him down—helpless, unarmed, unwarmed—and then, as a butcher repeats his blows upon a bullock, he beat the prostrate and helpless man.

This deed stands absolutely alone in our history. It has not a single fellow. There have been brutal things, and cruel things, and mean things, and cowardly things, and wicked and inhuman wrongs, but nothing before that epitomized them all. With the exception of one or two presses, the whole South has accepted of this deed as its representative. It is no longer Brooks that struck Sumner. He was the arm, but the whole South was the body. And with one consent it is declared that for the crime of free speech it was done and deserved!

As a forest grows when a tornado sweeps it, so the North was swept when the public feeling hummed and glowed. Villages, towns, and cities, spoke with an indignation, and with a unanimity, never before known in the North! The tidings of these meetings, the resolutions that were like ranks of serried spears in the day of battle, the record of the speeches, were borne Southward. We are beginning to hear their judgment. We make from the Richmond *Enquirer*, one of the leading Southern journals, the following extract, that our readers may know how far the South are progressing in their plan of nationalizing silence!

For the atrocious article here referred to, see 'Refuge of Oppression' on our first page.—Ed. Lib. If such things are done in a green tree, what shall be done in a dry? If this is the tone and manner of the South now, when they are in the minority, but flushed with the deceitful hope of victory, what will be their bearing when they shall have already the control, when a majority of the States are on their side, when the Continent is thrown open, and new States may be benighted and regimented at their will, to achieve their fell purpose?

Is Bunker Hill to become the footstool of slavery? Are all the records and trophies of our early days of Liberty to serve only to grace the car of Oppression? Are the men to whom such ideas are inbred, and such language is vernacular, who laugh at the pen and swear by the bludgeon, who pronounce assassination a virtue, and quarter upon their coats of arms the insignia of brutal violence, are these men to whom the North can afford to submit and bow down?

When that day shall come, some Southern sculptor will engrave upon the shaft of Bunker Hill the symbol of a whip. And old Faneuil Hall shall have above its platform a plucked-out tongue—as on funeral monuments men carve torches reversed, to signify that their function is ended.

From the Charleston Mercury.

A NEW ERA.

The South Carolinian, in alluding to the public demonstrations in approval of Mr. Brooks, uses the following language:

'And, to add the crowning glory to the good work, the slaves of Columbia have already a handsome subscription, and will present to the great orator a guard to him who has made the first practical issue for their preservation and protection in their rights and enjoyments as the happiest laborers on the face of the globe.'

Was the like of this ever before published in a newspaper in South Carolina? The negroes of Columbia have actually participated in the congratulations of Mr. Brooks, and the South Carolinian lauds it as 'the crowning glory to the good work!' Now, these meetings in South Carolina to sustain Mr. Brooks, as counter to those at the North, are proper enough. But when, in the Capital of the State, slaves are permitted, nay, applauded, and urged to take part in our political movements, to unite in popular demonstrations, to raise subscriptions, and present their tokens of approval to our public men—it is, indeed, a spectacle as disgusting as it is novel. We blush for the State when such things are permitted. If our slaves can publicly congratulate, may they not publicly condemn? And if one portion are permitted to laud Mr. Brooks, why should another, if disposed, sympathize with Mr. Sumner?

According to the Carolinian, the approval of Mr. Brooks's fellow citizens, their congratulations and testimonials, are completely obscured by 'the crowning glory' of this negro demonstration! And, in the same view, we suppose that the negro demonstrations in Washington, will take precedence over their masters, while they present to Mr. Brooks their 'appropriate token.'

Such a proceeding, while it offends every sentiment of Carolina society, is calculated to bring ridicule and disgrace upon the whole movement.

A LABOR OFFER. We are informed that while the bark *African*, Captain Archer, of New York, was on the African coast, he was offered the enormous sum of \$125,000 for his vessel. The *African* is a fine clipper barque of 250 tons, and would doubtless have proved of value for the purpose for which her possession was desired, that of a slave trader.—*New Bedford Mercury*.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, JUNE 20, 1856.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

THE MANAGERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY hereby announce to the friends of Freedom and Equal Rights in the Commonwealth, that a MASS MEETING will be held, as usual, in the beautiful and commodious Grove at FRAMINGHAM, on the evening of FOURTH OF JULY: the landable design of which is to rescue that anniversary from the ordinary popular degradation, and to consecrate it to the cause of impartial and universal liberty, by striking a mortal blow at the existence of slavery in our land; and to which all who 'despise fraud, and loathe rime, and abhor blood,' and who 'reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man,' are cordially invited. In view of the impious claims and alarming strides of the SLAVE POWER—the necessity of combined Northern opposition to it, root and branch, to the utter forgetfulness of all sectarian divisions and party lines; of the awful baptism of fire and blood through which ill-fated Kansas is passing—it is hoped and believed that this gathering will be unprecedentedly large, and animated by a spirit equal to the crisis.

Eloquent advocates of freedom will be present, whose names will be announced hereafter. SPECIAL TRAINS of Cars to the Grove will be run by the Boston and Worcester Railroad Co., leaving Boston, WORCESTER, MILLBURY, MILFORD, and NORTHBORO at 9 o'clock, A. M., and at the following rates of fare: From Boston and from Worcester, to the Grove and back, SIXTY cents for adults, and THIRTY cents for children under twelve years. From all other places on the main road, and its branches, to the Grove and back, FIFTY cents for adults, and TWENTY-FIVE cents for children.

The Committee of Arrangements are FRANKLIN JACKSON, of Boston. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, of Boston. EDMUND JACKSON, of Framingham. HENRY G. STONE, of Framingham. CHARLES F. HOVEY, of Framingham. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Leicester.

See what the desperate and infernal spirit of the South is, by turning to the 'Refuge of Oppression,' and by reading the intelligence from Kansas in subsequent columns, and then sign and circulate this petition. To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of the State of _____, respectfully submit to Congress: That, as in the nature of things, antagonistic principles, interests, pursuits, and institutions can never unite:

That an experience of more than three score years having demonstrated that there can be no real union between the North and the South, but, on the contrary, ever increasing alienation and strife, at the imminent hazard of civil war, in consequence of their conflicting views in relation to Freedom and Slavery:

That the South, having declared it to be not only her right and purpose to eternize her slave system where it now exists, but to extend it over all the territories that now belong or may hereafter be annexed to the Republic, come what may; and having outlawed her soil the entire free colored population of the North, made it perilous for any Northern white citizen to exercise his constitutional right of freedom of speech in that section of the country, and even in the national capital, and proclaimed her hostility to all free institutions universally:

We, therefore, believe that the time has come for a new arrangement of elements so hostile, of interests so irreconcilable, of institutions so incongruous; and we earnestly request Congress, at its present session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, and equitable dissolution of the existing Union as the exigencies of the case require—leaving the South to depend upon her own resources, and to take all the responsibility, in the maintenance of her slave system, and the North to organize an independent government in accordance with her own ideas of justice and the rights of man.

The following letter, elicited by a very absurd editorial article which appeared in the Boston *Evening Telegraph* of Monday, was sent to that paper for publication, but only a small portion of it was inserted. ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 Cornhill, June 17, 1856. To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph:

Sir—In your paper of last evening, you published a petition for a dissolution of the Union, now circulating in this Commonwealth, and appended to it some comments of a most extraordinary character—aggressively branding it as a 'New Game of the Border Ruffian Party,' (1) and declaring that 'there is but one explanation of this matter which seems to us reasonable,' (2) and that is, that 'the Buchanan leaders, frightened at the general indignation excited against them by the atrocious proceedings in Kansas, have resorted to a desperate expedient to create a reaction in their favor,' (3) and, finally, saying, 'The supporters of border ruffianism doubtless regard this as a very clever trick, and have great hope of profit from it. They are demerited.'

It is difficult to believe that you are serious in this case; for, if so, it implies a stupefaction of mind, on your part, little short of what you term 'demerited'—if otherwise, the wit of it is of the very poorest quality. The petition which has elicited such a ludicrous commentary from your pen was carefully prepared, under the sanction of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for general circulation, and bears first upon its list of signers the honored name of FRANKLIN JACKSON, of this city, followed by those of WENDELL PHILLIPS, THOMAS WESTWORTH HIGGINSON, and others of high moral worth and eminent philanthropy. It has appeared two weeks successively in the *Liberator*, and once in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* at New York, accompanied by an urgent appeal to every true friend of freedom to sign it without delay, for the weighty and unanswerable reasons therein set forth. Some years ago, a similar petition (succeeded by many others) was presented to Congress by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, throwing the bullying South into convulsions, and causing every slaveholding ruffian in the House of Representatives to foam at the mouth. For the last fifteen years, the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries have been constantly proclaiming, through their organs, lecturing agents and tracts, that the Union is 'a covenant with death' and 'an agreement with hell,' which ought to be instantly annulled. Indeed, this is the one great issue they present to the understanding, conscience and heart of every one who claims to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,' believing every other to be temporizing and delusive. 'The supporters of border ruffianism' are too well satisfied with the Union to circulate any petition for its dissolution, even as 'a very clever trick,' and will be very sure to destroy every copy of the one you have printed that they can lay their hands upon.

The recommendation appended to the petition, to have it sent to 'either Senators Wilson, Hale, Wade, Seward, Collamore, and Fessenden, or to Messrs. Giddings, Burlingame, Campbell, or any other suitable Representative, at Washington,' was made solely on the ground that these gentlemen believe in the sacred right of petition—and, as honorable men, will recognize it in this instance—though not one of them is in favor of the object prayed for.

Yours, to suppress 'border ruffianism,' and therefore for NO UNION WITH SLAVERY.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Thursday, May 29th, 1856.

Mr. President.—What is the real issue that we are called upon to look in the face—to meet unflinchingly and uncompromisingly, or all is lost? What is the issue that we are to grapple with? What is a rope of sand for strength compared with a chain of iron? Unless we have our movement upon PRINCIPLE, we are attempting to walk upon water, and must inevitably go down. Unless we are as true to freedom, in all respects, at all times, in every variety of circumstances, religiously, politically, socially, as the slaveholders are to their slave system, we shall surely be defeated, and all our efforts will in the end prove abortive. I turn to the South, and ask, 'What is the question to be settled?' and the New Orleans *Bulletin*, in the name of the South, gives me this reply—

'The man is as blind as a bat, and hopelessly stupid, who does not see that there is one overshadowing question which overarches and swallows up all other issues—the fundamental and vital question of slavery. Blink it as we may, complicate it, confuse it as much as possible, the fact cannot be disguised, that SLAVERY is the REAL ELEMENT OF PARTY DIVISIONS; and to organize a party with the expectation that its members, North and South, will unite and harmonize upon this main point of dispute, is only short of man-struck madness.'

Now, sir, we are to take lessons of our enemies. Respecting this question of slavery, what marvellous unity of feeling, sentiment and action is presented to us on the part of the South! We see but one party there; the Lynch code is every where the same; the slave laws are the same; the aims of the slaveholders the same; the prescription of abolitionists the same. The South presents to us a consolidated body of men, who are acting upon a doctrine which they affirm to be fundamental, and therefore must not be compromised; and they are unyielding. We must look upon them, not as we look upon the same number of persons at the North, but as incarnated in one person of colossal dimensions, with one heart and one pulsation, capable of no division, and having no rival interests. The spirit of the South is deadly hostile to freedom as a PRINCIPLE, without regard to complexion or latitude, and every thing is made to conform to its behests. Who is really free on its soil? Who dares to exercise freedom of speech there? Why do we not have an anti-slavery press in Carolina, in Georgia, in Alabama? Is it not our constitutional right to establish such a press in any of the slave States? But would it be tolerated for one moment? Why should we not freely travel through all the South, and bear our testimony against whatever we deem to be unjust, oppressive, and cruel? We have a natural, God-given right to do so; and it is, moreover, our constitutional right. But of what value is it? Sir, it is not an undeniable historical fact, passing before our eyes every hour, that in the slave States freedom of speech is in the dust—a free press cannot exist—and all Northern men are outlawed, if they have within them the sentiment of impartial liberty?

Now, sir, it seems to me to be as clear as the noon-day sun, that we shall never succeed against the Slave Power, unless we are equally united on our side of the line for freedom. Can we go successfully to war, with all-abounding treachery in our own camp? Can we succeed against a house which is not divided, with our own house torn and distracted by division? Can we vanquish those who take a doctrine, and CARRY IT OUT, by taking a doctrine, and compromising it all the way through? The answer is found in one word—IMPOSSIBLE!

Where stand the religious bodies of the North? At the South, you know where they stand—all on the side of the Slave Power! But where do our own religious bodies stand, with here and there an exceptional case? Do they meet this solemn issue for liberty as the exigencies of the times require? If we enumerate them, how instantly we realize the alarming fact, that they are practically all free, and adverse in spirit and action to the anti-slavery movement! Where stand the Episcopates of the North to-day? In religious union and fellowship with slaveholders, do they not? And is not this true, also, of the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Episcopal Methodists of the North? (Voices, 'No,' 'Yes,') Do they not? I am asking questions pertinent to the hour, and pregnant with deep meaning, and they should be met fairly and truthfully. Again I ask, are not the great religious bodies of the North hostile to abolitionism, and in favor of compromise with Southern oppressors? No man, claiming to be truthful, dare stand up here, and deny it. I do not make, but only declare the humiliating fact, and I lament before God that it is true. But I am asking you to see where we at the North stand, what are the probabilities of our success, what is the ground we ought to occupy, may, must occupy, or we shall utterly fail not to give freedom to the slave, but to maintain our own liberties.

Let us see, for a moment, where the political parties stand at the North. You know where they stand at the South. They may be Whigs, Democrats, Know Nothings, in regard to other matters, but on the subject of slavery, they are neither Whigs, Democrats, nor Know Nothings, but they are all for slavery, and will sacrifice all their party feelings in order that it may be protected, extended and perpetuated. How is it with these parties at the North? What remains of the Whig party? It is intensely pro-slavery, both in spirit and position: of this you need no evidence. As for the Northern wing of the Democratic party, it does the dirty work of the Slave Power 'with alacrity,' and is saturated with the blood of millions in bondage. I affirm here, as my solemn conviction, that never, since men began to organize themselves into parties, has there been a party so horribly corrupt and profligate as the Democratic party of this country. (Cheers.) As for the Know Nothings, it is true that they are divided upon the nomination of Millard Fillmore for the Presidency, but they are united in making their narrow 'Americanism' the paramount issue before the country. They virtually give their whole strength to the Slave Power. Of Millard Fillmore I will say, that, as the signer of the Fugitive Slave Bill, he has reason to curse the day he was born; and if he would but imitate the example of Archbishop Crammer, when brought to the stake, and put that 'wicked right hand' into the consuming fire as evidence of his deep contrition and thorough repentance, it might save his memory from eternal infamy. (Applause.)

I come now to the Republican party; and while I do not forget its actual position under the Constitution and within the Union, I am constrained to differ in judgment from some of my respected friends here, about the comparative merits of that party. I think that they do not always look to it all that justice demands; that they overlook the necessary formation of such a party, as the result of our moral agitation; and I marvel that they do not see that to quarrel with it, to the extent they are doing, is to quarrel with cause and effect—with the work of our own hands.

Mrs. FOSTER—I admit that the party is our own property; but as every child needs a great deal of reproof, and constant effort to bring it up in the way it should go, this party, which is the necessary offspring of our efforts, needs constant admonition and rebuke; and, God giving me strength, I will spare it an hour until it is fully educated, reformed, and brought up to the high position of truth and duty. (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON—Well, when have I spared party from merited rebuke? (Cheers.) I cannot allow that my estimable friend is the only one who is faithful in that direction, though she is always faithful. But, because the party is not all I could desire it to be, because it yet gives its allegiance to the American Constitution, because it is not ready to occupy Disunion ground, should I refuse to acknowledge its merits when it tries to do a good anti-slavery work in a given direction? When, as in the person of CHARLES SUMNER, it ventures to look the Slave Power directly in the face, and to arraign it for its matchless perfidy, and nobly endeavors to save an empire from its blighting curse,

and is struck down in the Senate chamber in consequence thereof, shall I not recognize such an act as praiseworthy, and with all my soul exclaim, 'Well done!' (Cheers.) Shall I turn to Mr. Sumner, while he lies bleeding from his cruel wounds, and say, 'You are the most dangerous man in the United States, as pertaining to the anti-slavery cause?' No—I should have to stultify my mind, and lose all power of discrimination, before I could do it. (Loud applause.) The Republican party, in trying to save Kansas and prevent the further extension of slavery, has been trying to do a good thing; and if it could succeed, it would unquestionably aid the cause of freedom on a large scale. This seizure of new territory, this conquest of a fresh empire, is the very method by which slavery is to be eternized, or at least prolonged until the exterminating judgments of God are poured out upon the land.

Mr. FOSTER—Do you believe they can succeed?

Mr. GARRISON—Certainly not! But that is not the question. They believe that they can. They laugh at my incredulity, because I do not believe it. I think that, ere long, they will be satisfied that I am right, and that they have been deceived: in which case, I expect them to hear the cry, 'EXCELSIOR! COME YE MIGHTY MEN!' and to see many of them take their position under the banner of Disunion.

I cannot, therefore, agree with such of our friends here as regard it as the worst or most dangerous party with which our movement has to contend. In its attitude toward the Slave Power, in the amount of conscience and humanity to be found in it, in its direct effort to baffle the designs of the Slave Oligarchy respecting the territories of the country, it is a far better party than either of the others, and to that extent it is a sign of progress which we have no cause to lament. I have said again and again, that, in proportion to the growth of Disunionism will be the growth of Republicanism or Free Soilism. I think if you will examine the map of Massachusetts, for example, you will find this to hold true, with singular uniformity: that in those places where there are the most abolitionists who have disfranchised themselves for conscience and the slave's sake, the heaviest vote is thrown for the Free Soil ticket. This is as inevitable as the law of gravitation. The greater includes the less. If we should begin our work over again, and try the same experiment ten thousand times over, we should have the same result in the formation of the same party. Why, then, should any one speak in a tone of depondency, or feel that our cause is in imminent danger of being wrecked? Is it to take a philosophical view of the subject?

Such, then, is my judgment of the Republican party. It is right, and deserving of commendation, in endeavoring to prevent the extension of slavery; nevertheless, under the Constitution, and in relation to slavery where it now exists, it does not differ from any of the other parties. It assumes the same obligations, and gives the same pledges. This is why we do not join it, and why we feel compelled to condemn it. In reply to the last speaker, (Mr. Dean,) who says we ought all to be one, overlook all differences at this crisis, and move on harmoniously together, I say, let us be one, if possible; but, if in order to effect this, we must compromise the right of the slave to immediate freedom, or continue in alliance with his tyrannical master for a single hour, then I say, let us be separate to all eternity. (Cheers.)

Sir, I put the question to every honest and conscientious Republican—nay, it is not I, but God who puts it, because it is a question of humanity, of self-respect, of fidelity to the higher law—how on the ground of moral consistency can you swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States? That instrument provides for a slave oligarchy in Congress—does it not? It augments the political power of the whole body of slaveholders, as such, according to the multiplication of their victims; and is not this, in the language of John Quincy Adams, giving the lamb into the custody of the wolf for safety and protection? Then, there is the clause in regard to fugitive slaves, which gives the master an unlimited range all over the country after his trembling vassal—the right to drag him back to stripes and chains from the monument on Bunker Hill, and in the shadow of Faneuil Hall. I want to know how any friend of the slave can swear to abide by such a stipulation, and keep his conscience pure and his hands clean. It has been said here, to the praise of Gov. Chase, of Ohio, that he has repeatedly aided the fugitive bondman to escape to Canada; but does this atone for his oath to send that bondman back to his horrible doom, if captured on the soil of Ohio? I must say, this seems to me like playing a double game. If I could take the oath referred to, I do not clearly see how, at the same time, as a matter of good faith, I could say to the fugitive, 'Your master is your track; flee from this city; here are the means to carry you beyond his reach.' Fidelity to the compact would require me to say, 'I cannot comply at your escape; for I have sworn, on certain conditions for my benefit, that your master shall be protected in his slave property, and he has a right to expect of me go all towards him in your case.'

Again—is it not in the bond that the North will aid the South, through the general government, whenever necessary, in putting down a servile insurrection? And what I wish to know is, how any one who claims to be the true friend of the slave can be justified, on any pretence, in taking an oath which covers an agreement like this. That question I must leave unanswered.

Now, I am opposed to all such compromises, because they are immoral and inhuman. I will not be drawn off by any side issue. I do not believe that the end sanctifies the means, in this instance; and, therefore, I will not, on the plea of wishing to stop the extension of slavery, sacrifice one jot or tittle of principle. We must be uncompromising, or we shall fail. I do not want to fail; and there will be no failure, if we have God with us. My appeal to the Republicans is 'Take your position on the rock of principle, and never doubt as to how the battle is to turn. But while you lower the standard of justice, and agree to be bound by unrighteous stipulations, you will have God against you, and you cannot succeed. Come out, and be separate, and cease from upholding this blood-stained Union.' Alas! how few believe in a stern adherence to principle as the wisest policy and the highest duty! What pains the Republican party takes to reassure the South of its determination to carry out all the compromises of the Constitution! For example—since I came into this Hall, in taking up the New York Times, the first thing my eye rested upon was a resolution adopted last week at a great Republican gathering at Paterson, New Jersey, as follows:—

'Resolved, That we will uphold and sustain, by an unyielding devotion, the Constitution of the United States, and ABIDE BY ITS COMPROMISES, both in letter and in spirit.'

That covers the enslavement of four millions of our fellow-countrymen, in fifteen states in the Union! And then, to think of the adoption of such a resolution at this trying hour, when liberty lies bleeding in the dust, and in our national capital ruffianism and murder stalk abroad with impunity, and men's hearts are failing them for fear! O, sir, has not Almighty God rendered it impossible for Freedom and Slavery to exist together? Can they rally under the same banner, they the same laws, recognize the same obligations, perform the same duties, seek the same ends? O no! They are, and must ever be, in deadly antagonism. What is the Union which the South professes to me? A halter! Let any unflinching advocate of the slave go there, and by the Lynch code he will scarcely be allowed five minutes in which to prepare to meet his God. Should CHARLES SUMNER venture into Carolina or Georgia, even to lecture against the extension of slavery, he would certainly be imprisoned or put to death. What is meant by a union with slaveholders? You might as reasonably talk of a union with burglars, highway robbers, and pirates—of Christians being in union with idolaters. 'What concord hath Christ with Belial?' It cannot be: the moral difficulties are insurmountable. Though naturally no worse than other men, the slaveholders of the South have been thoroughly demoralized by their slave system; and whenever or wherever the

rectitude of their conduct is questioned, they exhibit a spirit of ferocity. As a chess, in whatever relation they are to the face of the earth. There is no atrocity which they are not ready to perpetrate; no plot too diabolical for them to consummate; no barbarity too revolting to them to indict. Think of four slaves having been burned alive by a slow consuming fire, within the last eighteen months, in the presence of a throng of spectators, exulting in the horrible agonies of those ill-fated victims!

'The planters of Columbia Are gods beneath the skies! They stamp the slave into the grave, They bleed on fane's right side, They light all homes, they break all hearts, While a moon, and a green, Bring angels' tears in pity down, And move th' Eternal throne.'

Truly, they 'bless heaven, and hail hell,' in their deeds. How bloody are their threats against all who seek to give freedom to their slaves! We have seen the sturdy arm of the ruffian Brooks in the Capital, who is for sustaining an alliance, or 'marching to the step of the Union,' with such a bandit! They have repudiated every principle of honor, justice and humanity. They have closed down all human rights among a population larger than that of the six New England States. Tell me, ye who claim to be patriots, and who cry out against Free-Trade, Free-Press, and the like, how is it that you can look to the South, and see four millions of people given over to unbridled violence and pollution, such as Solomon and Gamaliel can parallel—every slave woman in a condition to be violated with impunity—mothers, and wives, and daughters sold for purposes of prostitution—no father, no husband, no wife, no child, recognized and regarded as chattels—and all herded with brute beasts in religious fellowship and governmental partnership with those who enforce such a system? Tell me, you who are filled with alarm and indignation, because you cannot accept the dogma, that 'all men are created equal,' the Bible is divinely inspired, (though I ever wish that volume on the side of living humanity,) how can you take by the hand, as 'brothers in the Lord,' those who are withholding the Bible from the perishing slaves, and doing what they can to make their damnation certain by darkening their minds, and demoralizing them to the uttermost? The cry of 'indivisible Union! treason!' will avail you nothing. You must meet the issue. The slaveholders have told you what they mean to do, and what they require of you as the condition of union. They have defiantly flung down the gauntlet. If we will not get down upon our knees, and submit to be their vassals, they declare eternal war against us. Then it follows, if we are for liberty for ourselves and for the oppressed, we cannot with them any longer. The 'covenant with death' must be annulled, and the 'agreement with hell' broken at once and forever. (Loud cheers.)

THE FIERY CROSS.

The fiery cross, in times of old,
Through gorge and glen did swiftly fly,
To rouse each chief and clansman bold
To useful vengeance—or to die:
And who to the cross heaved,
Who did this summons disobey,
To join his clan for fierce foray?

Ho! freemen of the mighty North,
The fiery cross to you has come;
Your murdered kinsmen send it forth
From pillaged tower and smouldering home!
As noble blood as ever flowed,
By border ruffians now is shed,
And slavery's horrid furies ploughed
Deep in your noblest chieftain's head.

Ho! freemen of this slave-cursed land,
What shall we do in this dark hour?
Shall we in union heart and hand
Avenge these wrongs by war's dread power?
True, we have strength to 'wipe them out,'
Draw the last drop of ruffian blood,
But 'tis not meet for us: without
A stain we would approach our God.

Ho! freemen, what then does remain,
In view of such infernal deeds?
Shall we still praise the Union's claims,
While Lawrence burns and Sumner bleeds?
Shall we endure the talk by halves,
The halting lip in Faneuil Hall?
And, worse than all, the golden calves
Who dare not even talk at all?

O, injured Freedom! wilt thou not
Spew out these cravens from thy mouth?
Their men in the earth shall rot—
Drive them to their own place—down South!
Leave not a dumb or paltering lip
In credit near thy crystal fount;
Nor longer let these minions sip
Thy life-blood, nor come near thy mount.

True freemen! what then shall we do?
This will we do, in God's great name—
To Right and Liberty be true,
And shake into devouring flame
All slavery—as Paul of old:
Once shook a viper from his hand;
Nor tyrant's steel, nor merchant's gold,
Shall stay us till we save the land.

Who names the Union but to curse?
Mark well the man—he's slavery's tool!
He's border ruffian—or, still worse,
A compromising knave or fool!
He'll sell your freedom anywhere,
As Webster, Pierce, and all have done,
For chance at presidential chair,
Or less—the chance of being run! D. M. W.

WAKE, COLUMBIA!

Air—Hail, Columbia!

Wake, Columbia! wake once more!
Strike for freedom as of yore!
See on the tombstones of our sires,
Heart-sick Liberty expires—
Drenched in Sumner's patriot blood,
Where her Washington once stood!
Awake, oh North, 'tis time to say
If she shall live or die to-day!
'Tis time the question to decide,
If thus for nought our sires have died!

(Chorus.)

No evil did our fathers see,
But we to-day are forced to see;
No shriek of butchered Hungary
More wild than outraged Kansas' cry;
No crowned and sceptred tyrann
More desperate than slavery!
Then wake, oh North! we look to thee
To rise this must, shall not be!
To rise before the expectant world,
And end this scorn on manhood hurled!

(Chorus.)

Firm, united, let us be,
Glorying in our Liberty;
In the God of Freedom's might,
Strong to work for Freedom's right!

(Chorus.)

Heart of our great Washington,
Best to-day in ours are one;
No bloody breach, no cannon-ball,
For Freedom's eagle eye alone
Hath power her coward face to stun!
Awake, then, every honest heart!
To brothers add a brother's part!
By all that Crime would wrest away,
Oh, North! put forth thy strength to-day!

(Chorus.)

Firm, united, let us be,
Heart and hand for Liberty!
We are strong above all powers—
Our fathers' strength is joined with ours!

A NEW SONG.

You Northern brute! why will you fret,
And toss your horns, and bellow?
A greater load you can bear yet,
And shall you tough-fellow?
You're like an arch, you growling 'Jack,'
That's built so stout and stable,
The more you have upon your back,
The more, d'ye see, you're able!
Then drag along your Southern chain—
Your drivers are so civil,
They'll never let you rest again,
Till ridden to the Devil!

Our glorious Union, you complain,
Has pluck'd poor Freedom's pinions,
How now no longer soaring amain,
But mourns her lost dominions:
Why, what dull brutes you Yankees are!
The South will teach you better!
So, of your fate in time beware,
Or look for good and better!

THE LIBERATOR.

PRESTON S. BROOKS.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:—The Anti-Slavery Meetings are over, and the Festival in honor of Mr. PILLSBURY is past, and the discourse of people, whose various interests have thronged Boston streets for the last week, has for the most part disappeared. Although my duties at home have prevented my participation in these scenes, my heart has been with those friends of freedom, who make their yearly pilgrimage, to register anew their vows in the service of God. I would have come, if only to pay my tribute of respect to the few far-sighted, fearless, and unerring prophets, who, for the last twenty years, have steadily pointed to the present, and even a worse crisis; for these are the only men who have recognized the true characteristics of slavery, and have traced, in advance, its progress of usurpation.

Before Texas was admitted into the Union, WENDELL PHILLIPS prophesied the history and destiny of this Republic, in reference to the progress of slavery, in words which burned with the inspiration of the seer. Thus far his prophecy has been fulfilled to the letter. God grant that he may be found at fault only by the awakening of such a love of liberty in the hearts of men, as shall avert the final consummation!

It is a fact, perhaps not too insignificant to deserve a passing notice, that not only has Massachusetts now, for the second time, been outraged by the late attack upon the person of her Senator, by the Representative from South Carolina, but that the same hand has been the bearer of both insults. Two years ago, or more, in travelling, I chanced to fall in company with Mr. PRESTON S. BROOKS. He told me that he was the Governor's Aid at the time of Mr. HOAR's mission to South Carolina, and was the bearer of the Governor's orders to the Mayor of Charleston, requiring his forcible ejection. I asked him for the 'letter of his instructions.' He said that he was commanded to see that Mr. HOAR was unharmed, even to a hair of his head, but that he must be compelled to leave the State, 'without force if he would, with force if necessary, but at whatever cost he must go.' He asked our acknowledgment of the courtesy of South Carolina towards our aged ambassador, in thus protecting him from personal violence!

One of our company replied, that whatever courtesy had been shown us, did not compensate for the injustice of preventing our Agent from executing his commission. He replied that 'Massachusetts had an undoubted right to look after her free colored citizens, but the discussion of that question was attended with too much danger to the persons and 'property' of the Southern States to be thought of for a moment; and, right or no right, Mr. HOAR must be silenced.' This is the man who now, for the second time, bears the words of insult, and strikes the cowardly blow at Massachusetts! This is the sense of justice and honor which has felt outraged by those glorious words of imperishable Truth, which are now printed in blood!

We have had an indignation Meeting in Concord, where some very spirited resolutions were passed, and many noble things were said. The country is stung by the sense of personal outrage, and men of all shades of political opinions agree in being grieved or angry at their natures incline them.

But the patriotism born of personal insult is short-lived and of little value. Many a politician will vent his temporary anger, under a more dignified name, who will not sacrifice one party prejudice or interest for the cause which trembles to its foundations, for lack of disinterested support. What a strange infatuation has seized these lovers of the Union! They have believed in it, prayed for it, sworn by it, sacrificed every manly quality to it; and yet, for want of union among themselves, their idol will crumble to dust before their eyes!

But Union-lovers and Union-savers are not the men for this hour. I longed to hear the words which can be heard only from your platform, for they alone are equal to the present crisis. It is only the men whose words have the background of genuine anti-slavery character and action, who have a right to be eloquent in a time like this. When will Massachusetts men dare to look with composure upon the only alternative of honor left to her, and choose a course of action worthy of her resolutions? Not until the motto, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS,' shall become the watchword where in our gravest men shall no longer find a mad fanaticism, but the only refuge from a disgrace worse than utter extermination. When will her leading men feel that now is the day and now is the hour, to consecrate to their highest uses those best gifts of God, the heart to feel, the mind to grasp, and the will to execute, to lay all these, and their attendants of fortune, fame and friends, upon the altar of the living God, whose servants now, though brave in soul, are thin in ranks? If the time is drawing near when the list of martyrs is to be filled out by our best beloved, I pray and believe that the women of Massachusetts may unite the Roman and the Christian heroism, and consecrate every heart and arm to the service of 'God and our Fatherland'; and may God grant that the young life which shall spring into being in this hour of our country's darkness, may be quickened with that love of Liberty, which it is a mother's holy office to impart, and her highest duty to cherish and develop!

My heart demands this little outlet of its fulness, and I hope I have not taken your time and patience too much.

I am, with affectionate regards, your sincere friend,
Concord, Mass. LOUISA J. WHITING.

NEW SCHOOL PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

DEAR LIBERATOR:—I have just read the discussion of the subject of Slavery which took place in the N. S. Presbyterian General Assembly on the 21st instant. Though not blessed with either an excess of faith in, or veneration for certain theological 'powers that be,' I had almost begun to hope that some of our many church organizations would take advantage of the present opportunity for purging themselves of the dough-facism which has corrupted them hitherto. It is plain that the end is not yet. If the half-way, fearful, knavery policy of the N. S. P., in General Assembly met, does not largely increase the multitude of skeptics as to the morals of orthodoxy, then I will believe that the thinking community has gone stark mad.

There must be an array of facts yet to be marshalled, or a new presentation of facts now arrayed, which shall succeed in arousing the people from the frightful stupor into which they seem to have fallen. The stench of slavery, when brought directly to the nostrils of man—free man, I mean—always nauseates; but, somehow or other, when it rises up through the loose fabric of church organizations, it seems to part with a portion of its noxious qualities, and in lieu thereof becomes comfortably tinged with the odor of sanctity. In evidence of this, we have but to observe the condition of the filer, and the perfunctory effects upon the morals of religious societies.

There may be blood upon the hands of our outlaws—Pierce, Douglas, Cass, Atchison and Stringfellow. Indeed, it is not to be doubted; but there is no blood on more pretentious hands? Yes, and verily, our altars smoke with it; it blends with the wine, it crimsones the snowy bread of the sacrament; the priestly vestments reek with it; the leaves of the 'Book of Books' are all bespattered and gory. You need not visit Southern plains to hear the hissing of the scourge and the responsive patter of the blood-drops; you need not go back eighteen hundred years to witness the crucifixion of Jesus; you need not go back to the reformation, nor to the young morning of the Christian era, to strengthen your faith in view of the martyrdom of the saints: You shall hear the scourge and the blood-rain, and behold souls mown asunder for opinion's sake; you shall see Christ crucified and reviled; all this you shall see in the annual Assemblies and Conventions of our church organizations; where grave divines meet to express their utter abhorrence of Slavery, to stigmatize it

as a monstrous sin, and to manifest their abhorrence by striking hands with it! Our Father! protect us from the spread of such evangelical Christianity as this!

The ministers of the Gospel of Jesus must cleanse their hands. He declared, what experience has amply demonstrated since, that man 'cannot serve God and mammon.' Yet what do they do? They preach the Gospel of 'glad tidings of great joy, which shall (should) be to all people,' and still break bread with men who have wrested from four millions of intelligences, not only Gospel privileges, but every privilege that accrues to manhood. It is a living, a bitter, unrelenting lie—this policy of your Adams and Obeyes. Its etiquette is written in bloody characters, and as certainly damns its observers as history shall execrate their memory.

The cringing obsequiousness of even the most liberal divines in the discussion referred to, is painful to behold. I suppose charity is the Kishinor of virtues. Its kind words and its gentle judgments fall upon the buffed soul like heavenly rain. But when Doctors of Divinity nurse monstrous crimes under its ample cloak, it is no longer charity, but a pharisaical pretence. And thus I discarded any charitable emotion in the slavish submission of Dr. ASA D. SMITH, who declared that he abhorred the system from the lowest depths of his heart, and if there could be any lower depths from which to abhor it, he would search diligently for it. Then added: 'There are slaveholders whose slave-latchet I am unworthy to unloose.' (?) Task, did not Dr. Smith, in that sentence, cry out from a deep still lower than that from which he professed to abhor Slavery? I agree, for one, with the learned Doctor, and feel like increasing the already ample margin of his pious declaration by the following amendment:—That the man who officiates as a Gospel minister, and yet attempts an apology for slavery in any form, is unworthy to unloose the slave-latchet of the meanest slaveholder. I do not say that any such apologist is a hypocrite; but he is certainly under the influence of moral opiate.

But the Rev. HENRY WOODS, of Mississippi, eclipses the erudite editor of the *Populist Observer*, in his effort to carry water on both shoulders. He was neither for nor against slavery. Why, in the name of sense, did he not give the world a topographical sketch of that blessed intermediate ground which he had the honor to discover? Neither for right nor wrong? Preposterous!—or, is there an intermediate space—a kind of paradisaical purgatory—where such scrupulous souls as his repose secure from the influence of moral and political wrongs? If so, let him take immediate possession; for this is the 'right of discovery.' He will not be troubled with aboriginal claimants. Mr. Woods admitted the evil of slavery, but denied the sin. Mr. Woods is not a logician. An evil is either a wrong, or a right; the term is most certainly absolute, just as the term 'good' is absolute; and any deviation is marked by a qualifying term. We say, 'good deeds,' or 'evil deeds.' The term is always properly applied to the not-good, as opposite to the good. All vices are sins; vice is an evil, (as the world generally understands it), thus, sin is an evil. Good is virtue, and virtue is good. To sin, is to sin; to sin, is to do evil.

Rev. Mr. HOLLEY, also from Mississippi, declared, among other things, that he was a slaveholder from choice; then admitted that he had been born North, he would probably have been an abolitionist. Why did Mr. Holley spit on John Calvin's pet dog, while he denounces upon others as infidel who rejects that dog? Now Mr. H. thinks slavery a good, and abolitionism an evil. Still, he had been born, say in the ancient Commonwealth of Massachusetts, he had been the advocate of an evil principle—thus admitting that man is the creature of circumstances, over which he has little control, that the accident of birth may make him a minister of God, or a minister of Satan. Or will he contend that an abolitionist, regenerated by virtue of the miraculous process, becomes an advocate of chattel slavery?

JOHN OF MORLEY.

WISCONSIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

Waukesha, (Wisconsin,) May 22, 1856.

I have been in Wisconsin two weeks to-day, and have lectured in Racine, Milwaukee, Palmyra, and here. I have just been talking and looking over the position of this State, in reference to the Federal Government. It is unmistakable, not only in the ideal, but in the actual. Wisconsin, at this moment, stands in direct and open hostility to the Federal Government. The facts are these:—A citizen of Wisconsin was indicted, tried, convicted, and condemned to fine, (\$1000) and to imprisonment for violation of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. A writ of habeas corpus was issued by the Supreme Court of the State. The man was taken from prison, brought before the Court, and the Sheriff required to state the reason why he held a citizen in Wisconsin in custody. He gave as his authority the decision of the United States District Court. The Supreme Court of the State decided that the United States Government had no right nor power to fine and imprison a citizen of Wisconsin for violating the Fugitive Slave Law. The decision of the State Court embraced two important items, that may serve to guide the Courts of other States in deciding cases between the State and General Government.

(1.) That the State has a right to decide on the constitutionality of all laws of the General Government which affect the property, liberty, or life of the citizens of the State. On this point the Supreme Court of Wisconsin was unanimous.

(2.) That the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 is contrary both to the Constitution of Wisconsin and the Constitution of the United States; and that the government of Wisconsin had a right to protect, and would protect, her citizens against all penalties inflicted on them by the United States for violating that law. This State has decided that it is no office against the Constitution of the United States, nor against the Constitution of Wisconsin, to violate the Fugitive Slave Law, and pledges itself to protect her citizens in all such violations done in helping off, in harboring and protecting against their masters, and the bloodhounds of the General Government, fugitive slaves. Fugitives may come to Wisconsin, and to be protected here, and any one may defend such fugitives against the marshals and officers of the United States, even to the extent of killing the slave-catchers; and this State has decided to protect them as guilty of no crime, on the ground that the Fugitive Slave Law is unconstitutional, without any force.

In this decision, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin (composed of three Judges) was divided, two in favor, and one against. The man who decided that the Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional, was turned out by the people last spring, and a Judge elected in his stead who is with the majority.

Then there is another point of collision. The United States Government sent to the Court of Wisconsin for a certified copy of the decision in the case alluded to, and the Supreme Court of the State has promptly decided that the United States Government has no right to demand a certified copy of its decision, and that it will not give it. So the General Government, being without any certified copy of the decision of the State Court, has no ground for a legal process against Wisconsin.

Then the General Government has cited Booth, accused party, to appear before the United States Supreme Court now in session at Washington, and Booth has set their writ at naught, and the State of Wisconsin is pledged to protect him in his refusal. So there is no way to get Booth before the Court at Washington, but to send the United States troops to take him, which the General Government dares not attempt, because they would be met by the whole State of Wisconsin.

Thus the General Government is prostrate in Wisconsin, before the authority and power of the State Government. The issue was fairly and deliberately made, the United States declaring one thing, Wisconsin directly the opposite, and the former has retired before the latter. Every State, where the State Court is elective, as it is here once in six years, will soon take the stand taken by Wisconsin, and assert its right to sit in

judgment on the laws of the United States. Wherever they are decided, by the State, to be unconstitutional, the State will protect her citizens in all violations of them.

Why not the Republican party cease their foolish, miserable attempts to reach slavery through the national government and a national party, and turn their undivided attention to get control of the State governments, and array each State against the Fugitive Slave Law? Get Massachusetts, or Wisconsin, or Ohio, to decide that no man shall ever again be tried on territory under its jurisdiction, on the issue, 'Is he a freeman or a slave—a man or a beast?' Each State of the North must come to this. Then will the North do something for liberty; all else is talk. Then will the North present clearly and boldly to the South the one only true issue worth a straw—DISUNION, or ABOLITION.

Yours,
HENRY C. WRIGHT.

DAVID A. WASSON.

MR. GARRISON:—A very enthusiastic laudation of Mr. WASSON's characteristics and mission having appeared in THE LIBERATOR a few weeks since, and feeling that it should be somewhat qualified, I have looked in vain for some disclaimer on the part of many, who, however highly they may admire him, are not prepared for so full and unqualified an endorsement as your correspondent gives.

Without the ability to use the flowingly beautiful and poetic language that your enthusiastic correspondent possesses, I must enter a demurrer to some of the conclusions thereof; and while not doubting that 'he [Mr. WASSON] has brought out his best thought,' that 'he has not withheld his most earnest vision,' I must affirm that all 'souls have' not held on those Sunday mornings rare and high festival '—that he has not given all who have heard him 'entire and joyful satisfaction.'

Mr. WASSON has great power of thought and speech, and some merely theoretic matters he handles with a master's skill; but in some practical matters, he appeared to be completely beggared, and to many who heard him, to exhibit a degree of moral obtuseness that was truly surprising. In his discussions of the Anti-Slavery question, he seemed to have no understanding of the real position of the Garrisonians; no comprehension of their high moral standard, which creates the actual necessity of their position as non-jurors. And applying the 'clear' and 'satisfactory axiom' of your correspondent, as he seemed to be 'intrinsically incapable to evolve' a fair statement of our position, it was probably 'impossible for his understanding to resolve it.'

On the life-taking question he seemed to be far in the dark; for, in a discussion of the Kansas matter, he stated that the 'border ruffians had forfeited their right to life in the inevitable court of heaven, and he who should have a bullet through their brains would do the will of God on earth.' And again he said, that he could 'with one hand fire the deadly cannon, raising the other to God to ask him to bless it to the destruction of the invader.'

Now, how those who found their 'belief in God, in the immortality of the soul, and all the dearest treasures of heaven, on the primal affirmations of man's spiritual consciousness,—that it is the birthright prerogative of every human soul to enjoy unmitigated cognizance of those eternal realities through its own earnest religious regard of God in the heart,' can make 'high festival' out of such ideas, is past my finding out; or how it can accord with the quotation of your correspondent, that 'whose dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him,' I am unable to 'revolve,' and therefore will not attempt to 'evolve.'

It may be that his positions and style were transcendently out of my grasp, and therefore I ought not to venture upon an criticism of him; yet, feeling that his great abilities enable him to work great mischief, and that his mission here was of evil effect, in that he deceived and led astray, by the brilliancy of his talent, 'some of the very elect,' I can but enter this disclaimer to the unqualified eulogy of your correspondent.

Worcester, June 8, 1856. J.

CHILDREN'S MEETING AT LONGWOOD, PENNSYLVANIA.

On the 17th ultimo, according to public invitation, (although the clouds threatened falling weather in addition to the heavy rains which had rendered the ground very damp,) hundreds of children were at Longwood. It was a most delightful scene to look upon. Their sunny faces were lit up with smiles, as much as to say, 'We mean to have a joyous time of it, despite 'rains and storms.'

Soon after the hour of meeting, they were all gathered within the walls of the edifice, which were tastefully decorated with flowers and evergreen, and were successively addressed by JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, (at whose suggestion the meeting was held,) SAMUEL J. MAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, and B. FUSSELL. A more orderly and attentive audience could scarcely be imagined. Sometimes their little hearts were touched with the relation of pathetic incidents in the lives of noble and generous children; again they were delighted with amusing and instructive stories. It was peculiarly impressive and beautiful to see the older people sprinkled through the audience, smiling and weeping alternately with the children. One baby ventured to cry, just because it wanted to. The speaker who was on the floor at the time, begged of the mother not to go out with it, saying, 'It is a children's meeting, and the little one has a right to speak.' All seemed to agree with this sentiment, and amidst the general joy, the little one itself was magnetized into the absorbing feeling of the audience, and soon laughed amidst its tears. Half a dozen sweet little girls, in whose faces the lily and the rose were beautifully blended, came forward and sang 'Lilly Dale' in a most touching manner.

The Little Pilgrim and Youth's Instructor were both introduced. Some recognized them as old friends; others welcomed them as new friends they expected to love.

The services of the meeting continued more than two hours, after which we all went to the beautiful Park of GEORGE PIERCE. Under the wide-spreading branches of the majestic oak and pine trees, the refreshments were spread out upon the clear white cloths on the green, while the delighted company, of all ages, were refreshed together. After a ramble through the Park an hour or more, the children all came together again, and were addressed for a few minutes by F. W. EVANS, of New York, and ANX PASTOR, D. M., of Philadelphia, when the services of the day were closed, and in a most exemplary and orderly manner, the crowd walked back to Longwood, and quietly dispersed; not a single incident having occurred to mar the intense pleasure excited by the occasion.

The day will long be remembered as one of the sunny spots in memory's page.

As some dear friends have desired to have an early insertion, in the invaluable LIBERATOR, of the doings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, I send thee the nearest outline. Yet it will give some idea of the occasion; as much, perhaps, as the skeleton of a man will give you of the living, breathing representative of humanity.

The meeting was a magnificent affair. Moncure D. Conway, pastor of the Unitarian church in Washington, (D. C.) was present, and pronounced it 'a living thing.' He, the beloved, S. J. May, and D. E. WASSON of Mass., one of nature's noblemen, the venerable Samuel Myers of Ohio, long a faithful minister of the Society of Friends, our honored and cherished Lucretia Mott, with the honest and true-hearted who have unceasingly given to the movement their strength and countenance, among these Wm. Logan Fisher of Germantown, a venerable friend of peace, and an able writer. With all these, besides a delegation of excellent people from the New Lebanon Shakers in New York, how could we have other than a soul-strengthening, refreshing meeting?

ONE WHO LOVES THEM.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

On First-day the 18th of 5th month, 1856, at 10 o'clock, A. M., the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, convened in the Meeting House at Longwood, Chester County, Pa. The house was densely crowded, and hundreds, unable to get within the walls, remained in the adjoining grounds. Prayer was offered by J. A. DUGDALE, after which the call of the committee of arrangements was read. J. A. Dugdale congratulated the meeting in view of the propitious circumstances under which it had convened, and introduced Samuel J. May, minister of the Unitarian Church, Syracuse, N. Y., who read the hymn,

'While thou I seek, protecting power,'

inviting those who felt inclined, to join him in singing it. After the singing, S. J. May delivered a very impressive discourse upon 'False Ideas of God and His government,' which was heard with deep interest. Lucretia Mott elucidated the subject further, by a few appropriate remarks.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Epistles were read from the Waterloo, (N. Y.) Ohio and North Collins, (N. Y.) Yearly Meetings of Friends of human progress. These communications conveyed cheering intelligence of the progress of religious and social reform, and breathed a spirit of fraternal affection and sympathy, which made them particularly welcome.

Letters, expressing a warm interest in the objects of our association, and a hearty concurrence in the anti-sectarian and progressive principles upon which it was formed, and containing messages of fraternal affection, were received from the following friends: Lydia Maria Child, O. B. Frothingham, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Jersey City; M. D. Conway, Washington, D. C.; Gerrit Smith, John F. Roe, of Kentucky, the Hutchinson Family, Wm. Henry Fish, of Hopkedge, Mass.; N. H. Whitting, of Marshfield, Mass.; Thos. J. Mumford, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Detroit; Antoinette Brown Blackwell; Lucy Stone Blackwell; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Sarah B. Dugdale and others.

The reading of these letters elicited remarks from David A. WASSON, minister of the Free Church in Groveland, Mass., Lucretia Mott and others. Committees were appointed on Slavery, Temperance, Treatment of Criminals, Woman's Rights, Evils of Tobacco, Limiting the acquisition of property, and one to nominate officers and settle the treasurer's account.

2d DAY—MORNING SESSION.

Joseph A. Dugdale introduced the subject of Education, proposing that the meeting adopt some definite measures for its promotion. An interesting discussion followed. The meeting, deeply impressed with the importance of the subject, appointed a committee to take it in charge.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

S. J. May, from the Committee on Limiting the acquisition of Property, submitted a paper on the relations of capital and labor, which led to an interesting discussion. A great diversity of views was exhibited. The whole subject was re-committed to the committee for further consideration.

The committee on the Treatment of Criminals submitted a memorial to the Legislature of Pa., which was ordered to be signed by the officers of the meeting, and forwarded.

Lucretia Mott, being about to leave, expressed her sympathy with the objects of our association, and read an interesting extract from a letter of E. C. Stanton, in which that earnest friend of humanity expressed similar sentiments.

3d DAY—MORNING SESSION.

S. J. May read, and a few joined in singing the hymn,

'Yes, we trust the day is breaking.'

William Fisher presented a paper, suggesting to the Friends of Reform, the usefulness of meeting together on the first day of the week, for mutual improvement and edification. After considerable discussion, the subject was referred to a committee. Oliver Johnson from the committee on that subject submitted a paper entitled, 'Amusements, their uses and abuses.'

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting proceeded to consider the essay on Amusements; the discussion was earnest and interesting until near the close of the session—it was then adjourned.

4TH DAY—MORNING SESSION.

The committee on Education submitted a partial report, dividing the subjects among different members of the Committee, with a view of embodying them in a full report to the next yearly meeting. The committee on Slavery submitted a report which, after full discussion, was unanimously adopted. The committee to whom was referred the subject of meeting on the first day of the week (for mutual instruction), reported the paper in an amended form, and it was unanimously adopted.

The committee on limiting the acquisition of property submitted a series of interrogatories to the meeting, for the purpose of eliciting further examination of the subject. The committee was continued. After the singing of the hymn,

'Blessed be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love.'

S. J. May, Moncure D. Conway, and David A. WASSON each took leave of the meeting in a few appropriate words, which touched the hearts of all and drew tears of sympathy from many.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

M. A. W. Johnson, from the Committee on Woman's Rights, submitted a report which, after some discussion, was adopted. Henry M. Smith, from the Committee on Temperance, submitted a report, which was adopted without discussion. Ruth Dugdale, from the committee, submitted a testimonial against the use of spirituous liquors, and an animated discussion, was adopted. On motion of Lee Pusey, a committee was appointed to consider the subject of Spiritualism, and report next year. Epistles addressed to the Waterloo, N. Y., Ohio and North Collins, N. Y., yearly meetings, were adopted, and ordered to be signed by the clerk, and forwarded to their respective destinations.

In closing the deliberations of our fourth Annual Convention, we gladly embrace the opportunity afforded us to renew our testimony in favor of the non-theological and non-sectarian basis of our association, and to declare to the world that our experience has abundantly confirmed us in the conviction expressed at the outset, viz., that a common love of God as the universal Father, a common love for mankind as one Brotherhood, a common thirst for Truth, a common devotion to the Right, and common aspirations for Personal Purity and Social well-being, are a far nobler, and stronger bond of Religious Fellowship and Fraternity, than anything that has been, or can be found in creeds, confessions of faith, or forms of worship. Differing widely from one another upon theological points, we have been essentially of one heart and one mind, in regard to the great moral issues, which, from time to time, have claimed our attention; and this oneness of spirit in respect to the practical duties of life, has preserved us from 'foolish questions' and doubtful disputations, and 'strifes' of doctrine, and enabled us to labor together with constantly increasing respect, attachment and affection, for our own edification, comfort and growth, and for the highest welfare of the human race. We are greatly encouraged and strengthened by the indications which greet us every day, that the spirit of Progress and Reform is making itself felt more and less powerfully, in almost every religious denomination; that the bonds of sect are constantly growing weaker; that Priestcraft and Churchcraft are becoming more and more distasteful and odious in the public estimation, and that multitudes of the most enlightened, earnest and devoted men and women of the age, are throwing off the trammels of superstition, bigotry and intolerance, and seeking such forms of religious association as are in accordance with the fundamental laws of human nature, the sovereignty of conscience, the right of private judgment, and the liberty of thought and speech.

Grateful for the measure of success which has been, and efforts hitherto, and cheered by the words of encouragement and hope that greet us on every side, it is our earnest desire that we may be found faithful in time to come, and that the cause of truth and righteousness may go on to a speedy triumph.

Extracted from the minutes of the Yearly Meeting.
JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, Clerk.
RUFAYAN WAT,
OLIVER JOHNSON.

AYER'S PILLS.

Are curing the sick to an extent never before known of any medicine.

INVALIDS, READ AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES.

JULIUS HAUER, Esq., the well-known performer of the famous Philadelphia, whose choice products are sold everywhere, writes:—
'I am happy to say of Ayer's Cathartic Pills that I have found them a better family medicine than any other I have used within my knowledge. Many of my friends have used them, and all have been